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possibility of gaining a working knowledge of a language in a short time, it is not really possible to satisfy these doubts unless something is known about the general structure of the language (phonetic, morphological, and syntactic) and its categories. It is also necessary to know what we mean when we speak of "easy" and "difficult." The morphology of a language may present overwhelming difficulties of analysis, but some of these difficulties may be quite irrelevant in learning to talk it. It may be almost impossible to get at the meaning of some troublesome elements, yet the elements themselves may be used in such a formal way that it is unnecessary to know their meaning. All one needs to do is to know where they occur and then to use them mechanically.

When all these factors are taken into consideration, however, the fact still remains that the language *is* utterly strange and that the possibility of mastering so much strangeness in time to use it as a tool in field work seems slight. I shall, therefore, give here an account of the precise nature of the conditions encountered in an attempt to learn to talk the Kaingáng language so that the reader may be able to form a just idea of the problem.

I outlined the general pattern of the Kaingáng language in a recent paper[3] and shall not, therefore, go into detail here. Of the eighteen consonants there is really only one that does not occur in English, a labio-dental *m*.[4] Of the vowels there are four that do not occur in English, but of these, two are familiar in French and German, and a third in Russian.[4] The fourth occurs nowhere else that I know of, but it is so much like the sound of the diphthong in English *sure* and *gourd* that it would be easy to produce an equivalent of it that would satisfy the natives. Most of these vowels can also be nasalized, but these nasalizations are familiar to students of French and Portuguese. There are no consonantic clusters[5] in Kain-

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estimate the importance of speaking grammatically, for some natives do not understand their language unless it is spoken with a high degree of grammatical precision. In regard to the limits of intelligibility each language is different, and in each tribe each individual is different. Some natives are so habituated to hearing their language spoken only by tribesmen that they never learn to understand a white man.

[3] "A Kaingáng Text," *International Journal of American Linguistics*, 8:3-4, p. 172.

[4] An *m* made by touching the upper teeth to the lower lip. A *d* and a *b* and a *g* in which the air is expelled through the nose instead of through the mouth occur in Kaingáng at the end of words, but these also occur in English. Examples: nasally exploded *d* in English "laden"; nasally exploded *b* in English "grab him" (grab'm); nasally exploded *g* in English "wagon" (in New York City). As a matter of fact the labio-dental *m* also occurs in English in words like "triumph" where the *m* is followed by a labio-dental consonant, but it is extremely difficult for English-speaking people to produce this consonant in other positions.

[4] As in the pronouns *Bïl*, you, and *Mïl*, we.

[5] Where three or four consonants come together at once.

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gáng. Thus there is nothing completely strange in the phonetic structure of the language. 194

The problem of grammar is more difficult. There are two fundamental categories in Kaingáng, the static and the dynamic, and these are expressed by different particles and by changes in the verb. The category of number—singularity and plurality—is also expressed principally in the verb. Present and past time are expressed by identical verbal forms, but the ideas of futurity, contingency and continuity are conveyed by elements that directly follow the verb which is in the active form. There is no subjunctive, but all ideas that would be subjunctive in English are expressed by syntactic forms, i.e. by placing statements in intelligible juxtaposition. There is no sex gender, and there are no concepts of definiteness or indefiniteness. Thus, on the whole, what one has to do in Kaingáng is to satisfy oneself with a much reduced mechanism. As far as morphology is concerned Kaingáng is actually easier to learn than French and German. When one considers the whole battery of case forms in German and the elaborate devices for expressing time—the specific forms and their proper sequence in complex sentences—Kaingáng actually is simple. The categories of the static and dynamic are not foreign to the Indo-European languages, which generally express them in the verb.[6] 193

The sentence structure of Kaingáng is, on the whole, subject+object+modifier+verb. Subject and object are followed by one of those troublesome formal elements that are so hard to define, and the verb is always followed by the sign of the static or dynamic or by one of the modal particles (time, static or dynamic, continuative). These elements are always the same, and one learns to put them in automatically. Thus, the major change in syntactic form from English is in the position of the verb. But for the student familiar with German the shift of the verb's position should present no difficulties. The picture of sentence structure that I have given here is rather elementary, and there are, of course, a number of modifications; nevertheless, this is the form the beginner learns, and it is not difficult to master.

The only really difficult problem in Kaingáng is one of memory, for one has to memorize the entire content of the language. Yet by recording large numbers of texts one can increase one's knowledge at a great rate. 200

People frequently ask me how long it took me to learn to talk Kaingáng, as if one had a period of complete ignorance from which one suddenly burst like a butterfly, splendidly articulate. But learning is gradual. Day by day as he watches the people, the student acquires a word here, an idiom

[6] In learning Kaingáng one quickly begins to feel the conceptual similarity of their static forms with the verb *to be*, and of their dynamic forms and ours with the transitive verb.

101 the latter state, in the Municipality of Dalbergia[3], at the Post of the Serviço de Proteccão aos Indios, "Duque de Caxias".

197 The Kaingang have been grouped in the Ges-Tapuya linguistic family with the Botocudo of the Rio Doce in the state of Minas Geraes[4]. I find, on comparing the available data that there is no justification for such grouping. It is desireable, therefore, to consider the Kaingang dialects alone until more material is forthcoming.

CONSONANTS.

194 The most striking single feature of the basic consonantic scheme is the large number of nasals: 9 out of 18 of the consonants are nasals or are accompanied by nasal voicing. These last are the mb, nd and ng in the plosive series.

Bastian. Also, following Chamberlain's map as best we can by latitude and longitude (AA. NS. V. 15; 1913, pp. 236—247) we see that he extends his Tapuyan group into Paraná and São Paulo without including Santa Catarina. If he includes the Kaingang speaking tribes of Paraná and São Paulo in his Tapuyan family he must extend its limits into Santa Catarina.

[p. 172 (c)]

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Consonants: Broad transcription.

	Bilabial	Labio-dental	Dental	Alveolar	Alveolar-Palatal	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Plosives	p mb (m)		t nd (n)				k ŋg (ŋ)	
Nasal	m	ɱ	n			ɲ	ŋ	
Lateral				l				
Frictionaless								
Fricatives		v	ð			y		h
Affricatives					tʃ ndʒ			

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Vowels: Broad transcription

Pure Vowels

	Close				Open	
Front	i		e	ɛ	æ	a
Central	ɨ			ɜ		
Back	u	ʊ	o	ɔ		

Nasalized Vowels

Front	ĩ			ɛ̃	ã
Central	ɨ̃				
Back	ũ	õ		ɔ̃	

Diphthongs

ai, ɑi, ɑu, ɜi, ui, ʊi, oi, ɔi

Plosives.

The dental plosives are interdental.

The voiceless plosives are aspirated. Under the influence of a phonetic law, which will be discussed in its proper place, a series of unexploded stops is produced. These[1] stops, that I have called contact stops, exactly parallel the terminal *k*, *t* and *p* of the New York City pronunciation of back, cat and rope except that the Kaingang consonants are interdental.

I have placed m͡b, n͡d, and ŋ͡g in the plosive series because they function like plosives in the language. That is to say they never occur terminally, and they may, with the exception of n͡d, be followed by *l*. All nasal consonants except ŋ may terminate syllables. Only g may be followed by *l*.

The sounds that I have designated m͡b, n͡d, and g͡g are really nasally exploded *b*, *d*, and *g* respectively. They seem logically to belong to the series of nasal consonants because of their occurence at the end of syllables. So, also, they obey the same phonetic law as do n, m and g (see section on Retrogressive Changes), and effect g in exactly the same

[1] These sounds are made by an initial closure of the nares. The fact that at the beginning of my study I heard these consonants as *d*, *b*, and *g* would seem to support this belief.

[p. 173 (4)]

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way as do n, m, and ŋ (see section on Progressive Changes). Nevertheless, the fact that these nasal plosives occur only terminally, whereas the corresponding oral plosives, mb, nd and ŋg occur only initially leads us to conclude that these two series are really one phoneme. Thus in terminal position mb becomes m, nd becomes n and ŋg becomes ŋ.

Nasals.

The dental nasals are interdental.

The labio-dental nasal, ɱ, is a true and stable phoneme. It is made by touching the upper teeth to the lower lip while the vocal chords are vibrating and the air is issuing through the nose. ɱ may be distinguished from the labio-dental fricative, v, by the fact that in the former there is no friction between the lips and the teeth while in the latter there is no nasal quality.

Lateral Frictionless.

Between vowels *l* is often replaced by *r*.

Fricatives.

v alternates with β. The principal element of this phoneme, v, is made by touching the upper teeth to the lower lip lightly. Now, most of the Kaingang above 15 years of age have lost their upper incisors. As they grow older they lose more of their teeth, especially the front uppers. In rapid speech, therefore, a person trying to produce a true v would often not do so. What he does produce is a bilabial fricative, β.

Because of the rounding of the lips preparatory to producing a rounded vowel the labio-dental fricative is often heard as a very fricative w. In this case there is friction not only between the lips and teeth but also between the lips.

ð is a mixture of the voiceless and voiced interdental fricative. The vocal cords do not start to vibrate until the air is already issuing from the mouth.

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Affricatives.

• 194 The voiceless affricative is sometimes heard as *ʃ*, particularly in unaccented position. It also occurs as */t/ʃ* and as *ɛ/t/ʃ* in unaccented position.

The voiced affricative has a *y* quality, particularly when it is the result of the change of *y* to *dʒ* (see Progressive Phonetic Changes).

VOWELS.

ɪ occurs only in diphthongs.

e and *ɛ* do not differ a great deal in quality, the *ɛ* being rather open.

PHONETIC CHANGES.

Consonantic.

There are two large groups of consonantic changes in Kaingang: Retrogressive and Progressive. The Retrogressive are by far the most common and are purely mechanical. The Progressive changes are in some instances dependent upon grammatical processes.

Retrogressive Consonantic Changes.

A nasal consonant that terminates a syllable must change to a voiceless contact stop if followed directly by a voiceless sound. These changes are dependent upon the speech flow. That is to say, in ordinary conversation if the speech becomes very slow, or if there is a stop for rhetorical phrasing, the changes may not take place at the points where the flow slows down or where the pause for phrasing occurs.

Since *ð* is a mixture of voiceless and voiced friction the nasals behave before *ð* as if it were a voiceless consonant.

Since all Kaingang syllables must end in either a vowel or in a nasal consonant these changes are encountered with great frequency. Nevertheless, in spite of their variety and the frequency of their occurrence, the rules are so simple that a foreign speaker of the language, like myself, very quickly develops a "feeling" for them and comes to use them automatically.

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194 The retrogressive consonantic changes are as follows:

ɱ and ŋ change to p before t, k, ð, and tʃ. When followed by p only the aspirated p is articulated.

n and ɲ change to t before p, k, and ð. When followed by t only the aspirated t is articulated. When followed by tʃ the t is often assimilated.

ɲ obeys the same rules as n and ŋ.

ŋ and ŋ̇ change to k before p, t, ð and tʃ. Before k only the aspirated k is articulated.

It is thus seen that whenever a nasal consonant is followed by a voiceless sound it either disappears or is replaced by a contact stop that corresponds to its own physiological position. That is to say (1) The bilabial nasals become bilabial contact stops; (2) The interdental nasals become interdental contact stops; (3) The velar nasals become velar contact stops; (4) The palatal nasal also becomes a t just as the n and ŋ do, but I am unable to state whether it is a palatal or dental t that is produced.

Progressive Consonantic Changes.

When ɣ is preceded by a nasal it changes to dʒ.

When ŋ is preceded by n or by ɲ it drops out.

The following changes may be considered as grammatical: When the verb kɛɣ is preceded, in any of its forms, by a nasal consonant the k becomes ŋg. The connective, kĕ, with considerable irregularity, becomes ŋgĕ after ŋ and ŋ. A large class of verbs ending in ke sometimes change the k to ŋg if the preceding syllable ends in a nasal consonant. The first person plural possessive pronoun aŋ changes an initial k in the possessed object to ŋg. Only one ŋ is pronounced in this case. Possessive pronouns are always directly prefixed to the possessed object.

The vitality of the nasal consonants in Kaingang is remarkable. Not only for their

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number but also for their activity do the nasals stand out as an extraordinary series. Every one of them not only changes itself but brings about changes in other consonants. The peculiar vigor of the nasal consonants of Kaingang must be looked upon as the fundamental phonetic characteristic of the language.

OTHER PHONETIC CHANGES.

A nasalized vowel if followed by a voiceless consonant may be followed directly by a contact *k*.

Vowel elision is rare. It is not dependent upon grammatical processes. When two vowels that are not part of one morphological element come together in discourse the first one is sometimes elided.

The first person singular pronoun, *ey* changes to *e* before voiceless sounds and *ð*. But when in contact with *t* it also changes the *t* to *tʃ*. *ey* changes the *n* in most nouns beginning with *n* to *ɲ*. Certain nouns beginning with *ng* change to *dʒ* after *ey*.

In Kaingang there are two kinds of diphthongs, those that are stable units and those that spring into existence in response to phonetic laws. Whenever a vowel precedes *tʃ* it is diphthongized by the insertion of of *ɨ* before the consonant. This is a mechanical phenomenon. When a vowel precedes the element *ke* which means "to be about to do (something)" it is diphthongized in the same way. This is a grammatical phenomenon.

The vowel preceding *ŋ* becomes nasalized when *ŋ* changes to *k*.

m, *n*, and *ɲ* may be converted into their corresponding nasally exploded plosives when they occur immediately after an accented syllable.

Certain vocalic changes occur in response to grammatical rules. Since these are comparatively rare they will not be discussed here.

[p. 175 (A)]

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X539 came there and pierced it. When he pierced it for them he ate honey with them. But in the meanwhile they did not give any to *læɣ'dʂili*. When he saw this he stole the water from them. So when he stole the water he would always go away to drink. Now, when he saw that they did not give him any honey he did that to the water and so they were thirsty. Then they said to him, "Is the water near here?" That is what they said to *læɣ'dʂili*. Then he said, "No. Water is far away. I really have to travel, then I drink water." So, since they were thirsty they licked and sucked damp rocks. In the meanwhile *tʃó'tlæ* did the same as they and was walking around licking damp rocks. In the meanwhile *læɣ'dʂili* was coming along. When *tʃó'tlæ* heard this he hid himself. In the meanwhile *læɣ'dʂili* did not see *tʃó'tlæ*. So he tilted back big-turtle. In the meanwhile *tʃó'tlæ* was looking on from his hiding place. In the meanwhile *læɣ'dʂili* tilted back big-turtle and drank water. After drinking he closed it down on top. When he did this he went away. Then *tʃó'tlæ* came over and tilted up big-turtle. Then he went, "Hi hi hi hi hi! I see water! I see water! I see water!" That is what he said. When they heard this they came there. Every single one of them came. In the meanwhile *læɣ'dʂili* came there. Then he took his big-turtle and placed it over the water. But they payed no attention to it. They did the same as he and tilted it up again. When *læɣ'dʂili* saw this he stopped. In the meanwhile there were many of them in the water. Then they were all drinking. They were very thirsty that is why they looked for the water.

Notes.

194 X539 1 Honey or hive. Sometimes used also to mean bee. The word is *ɛɛɣ*, but under the influence of the following sound the *ɣ* has changed to *k* and the *ɛ* has become nasalized.

196 X539 2 Insect. Used most often with respect to the bee in order to distinguish the honey from

A193 X539 [illegible] then they his mouth in other pot
Then they pour some into his mouth.

[134] [illegible] then pace' tapir his mouth in escape
and so,....
Then, when the tapir escaped from the pace.....

When a person is dying he says things about those around him, usually foretelling death. This is called *patkɔ'ŋa*, where *kɔ'ŋa* means "to err". But *patkɔ'dɔk* means "mouth skin" or "lip". These examples are too few for the derivation of a rule.

88 Active form of the verb "to be dry". Participial form *ka'ŋgo*. *kuŋ'gŋuŋ*, used of herbage seems to be related to it, although I do not know in what way.

89 Near by.

[99] 90 No! I have marked a low rising tone here because the peculiar musical character of the Kamgang negation is so striking. It is what singing teachers call "a scooped tone".

91 Far away. Used also of distance in time.

92 A predicating element. Elements associated with *kɔ* can take only the independent pronouns.

A large number of expressions of sensation and feeling occur in constructions with *kɔ*.

Examples:

(1) It is hot. *kɔ́ kɔ*
hot

(2) I am cold. *ka'ŋɔ kɔ*
cold

(3) I want to go. *e tʃɔ́k* [illegible] *kɔ*
my go to be desirous

(4) I am hungry. *e ka'ŋole kɔ*
my hunger

(5) It is strong (drink or odor). *'bɔ kɔ*
strong

(6) It stinks. *'ŋgole kɔ*
odor

[1] A rodent. It is amphibious.

[p.212 (5)]